

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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S E C R E T STATE 241298 TOSEC 280004

EXCLUSIVELY FOR MR. SONNENFELDT FROM FUERTH

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (SONNENFELDT, HELMUT)

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON NUCLEAR EXPORT CONTROLS: INDIA

1. I SHOWED YOU REPORTING CABLE FROM IAEA  
CONFERENCE IN RIO ON MOROKHOV/SEAMANS CONVERSATION IN WHICH  
FORMER, IN ADDITION TO REPEATING KNOWN SOVIET POSITION  
REGARDING NEED FOR FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS, AND  
DESIRABILITY OF COMMON POLICY TO THIS EFFECT AMONG SUPPLIERS  
AS CONDITION OF SUPPLY, ALSO MADE SOME NEW POINTS: (1)

THAT REGIONAL CENTERS AND STORAGE OF PLUTONIUM WOULD NOT  
PROVIDE NECESSARY SECURITY, AND THAT U.S. SUPPORT OF SUCH  
CONCEPT WAS PERPLEXING; (2) ALTHOUGH SOVIETS WOULD PREFER  
FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS ON HEAVY WATER THEY PLAN TO SELL  
TO INDIA, THEY WOULD HAVE TO SETTLE FOR STRICT SAFEGUARDS  
ON THE TRANSFER, FOR LACK OF COMMON POLICY AMONG SUPPLIERS.

2. MOROKHOV'S COMMENTS BRING TO MIND IMPORTANT POTENTIAL  
SOVIET ROLE IN REGULATING INDIAN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT.

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ESSENTIAL POINTS ARE (1) BECAUSE OF SUSPENSION OF CANADA'S

SUPPLIER RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, LATTER HAS LEGAL RIGHT TO TERMINATE SAFEGUARDS ON THE RAPP I REACTOR, AS OF SEPTEMBER 30 THIS YEAR; (2) RAPP I HAS U.S. SUPPLIED HEAVY WATER; (3) IT IS CAPABLE OF PRODUCING 45-100 KGS OF WEAPONS GRADE PLUTONIUM ANNUALLY; (4) INDIA REQUIRES A SOURCE FOR HEAVY WATER FOR THE SISTER RAPP II REACTOR COLLOCATED

WITH RAPP I; (5) THE SOVIETS ARE THE ONLY NEAR-TERM SOURCE FOR THE HEAVY WATER FOR RAPP II.

3. IN AN EARLIER MEMO, WHICH YOU SENT THE SECRETARY, YOU POINTED OUT WAYS CLASH BETWEEN U.S. NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND INDIAN NUCLEAR POLICY COULD THROW INDIANS ON SOVIET UNION FOR SUPPLIES, FACING SOVIETS WITH CHOICE BETWEEN THEIR INDIAN CONNECTION AND THEIR OWN NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR EXPORTERS' COORDINATION. POSSIBILITY ARISES, GIVEN MOROKHOV'S VIEWS, THAT WE COULD ENLIST SOVIETS NOW IN COORDINATED POLICY AIMED AT PREVENTING INDIANS FROM EXERCISING THEIR OPTION TO THROW OFF SAFEGUARDS FROM RAPP I. FURTHER POSSIBILITY IS TO GET SOVIETS TO DO A LITTLE PUSHING ON THE FRENCH, WHOSE PREVIOUS ATTITUDE REGARDING FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS NOW (1) MAY BE ISOLATED; (2) MAY BE MALLEABLE, IF GOLDSCHMIDT IS RELIABLE GUIDE. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT INDIANS, IF DETERMINED, ARE NEARLY ABLE TO PROCEED WITH THEIR NUCLEAR PROGRAMS AUTONOMOUSLY, ALTHOUGH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS WOULD BE HIGH. PURPOSE OF THIS EXERCISE WOULD BE TO MOVE SOVIETS TO CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE WITH US, RATHER THAN LET SOVIETS ALONE WITH TEMPTATION TO PLAY SPOILER.

4. TIME WINDOW APPEARS AT HAND, POSSIBLY IN BACKGROUND OF UPCOMING SUPPLIERS WORKING GROUP IN LONDON (OCTOBER 7).

GEORGE VEST WILL BE IN LONDON FOR OPENING OF SESSION, AND SO WILL MOROKHOV. ROBINSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, NUCLEAR ENERGY, POLICIES, EXPORT CONTROLS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 SEP 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE241298  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** LFUERTH  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760366-0339  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760910/aaaaaipd.tel  
**Line Count:** 97  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** ONLY  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** ONLY  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <29 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <09 AUG 2004 by KelleyW0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOVIET VIEWS ON NUCLEAR EXPORT CONTROLS: INDIA  
**TAGS:** OVIP, PARM, UR, ID, (SONNENFELDT, HELMUT)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006